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POLITICS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

PETER BURNELL | LISE RAKNER | VICKY RANDALL

fifth edition

Politics in the Developing World

Politics in the Developing World

FIFTH EDITION

Edited by
Peter Burnell
Lise Rakner
Vicky Randall

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Preface

This fifth edition of *Politics in the Developing World*, just like the previous editions, has benefited substantially from feedback by referees and readers. The editors wish to thank all those who offered comments and also Oxford University Press (OUP) for its decision to commission a fifth edition. We would also like to thank Jessica Smith (Birkbeck, University of London) for her really excellent work updating the bibliography, glossary, and appendix tables. Sarah Iles at OUP has been a tactful, but vigilant, publishing manager, keeping us on our toes and a pleasure to work with.

In terms of content, the fifth edition reflects a decision to slightly reduce the thematic coverage, so as to allow for twelve short country case studies. These case studies, organized around four key challenges facing developing countries, include a newly commissioned account of the Sudan (Liv Tønnessen), as well as a study of Syria (Reinoud Lenders, previously online). In the fifth edition, we also introduce a number of new authors either working alone (Robert Ahearne, writing on the global economy; Anna Persson, contributing a new chapter the state; Vicky Randall, presenting a new chapter on gender and politics in the developing world; Gyda Marås Sindre, writing on Indonesia) or in conjunction with existing authors.

All of the chapters retained from the fourth edition have been revised and updated to include recent global events and developments. Donald Trump's unanticipated election to the White House occurred when this volume was nearing publication, but while it seems bound to have significant consequences for such fields as environmental policy, democracy assistance and politics in the Middle East, it is much too soon to know quite what these will be. The edited chapters contain, among other things, fresh illustrative material and pedagogic content, which extend to new sample questions and guidance on further reading. Throughout, a conscious attempt has been made to emphasize gender issues more adequately, although doubtless there is scope to do even more in this regard. The overall composition of authors is both more international and closer to gender parity.

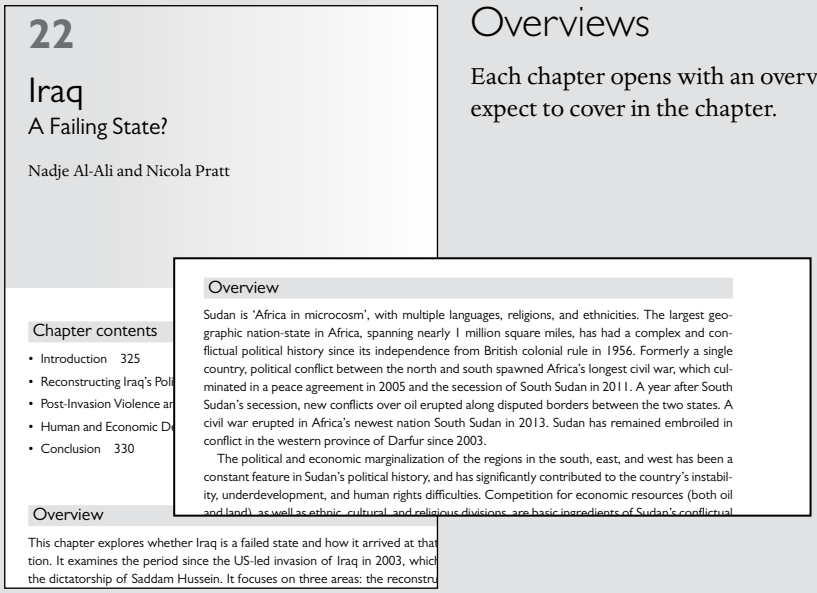
Finally, the Online Resource Centre contains new extra material that readers of the book are also urged to consult.

New to this Edition

- A brand new case study on Sudan has been added to this edition, increasing the coverage of the African continent.
- All chapters have been updated to increase coverage of the following pertinent themes: refugee movements; the so-called Islamic State; organized crime; the role of social media and social networks in political organization and mobilization; the launching of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (replacing the Millennium Development Goals); and the impact of declining oil prices.
- The Syria case study (previously found online) has been updated and moved into the book.

Guided Tour of Textbook Features

We have developed a number of learning tools to help you to develop the essential knowledge and skills you need to study politics in the developing world. This guided tour shows you how to get the most out of your textbook.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Iraq

A Failing State?

Nadje Al-Ali and Nicola Pratt

Chapter contents

- Introduction 325
- Reconstructing Iraq's Poli
- Post-Invasion Violence ar
- Human and Economic D
- Conclusion 330

Overview

This chapter explores whether Iraq is a failed state and how it arrived at that
tion. It examines the period since the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, which
the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. It focuses on three areas: the reconstru

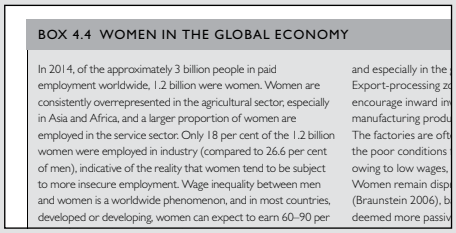
Overview

Sudan is 'Africa in microcosm', with multiple languages, religions, and ethnicities. The largest geographic nation-state in Africa, spanning nearly 1 million square miles, has had a complex and conflictual political history since its independence from British colonial rule in 1956. Formerly a single country, political conflict between the north and south spawned Africa's longest civil war, which culminated in a peace agreement in 2005 and the secession of South Sudan in 2011. A year after South Sudan's secession, new conflicts over oil erupted along disputed borders between the two states. A civil war erupted in Africa's newest nation South Sudan in 2013. Sudan has remained embroiled in conflict in the western province of Darfur since 2003.

The political and economic marginalization of the regions in the south, east, and west has been a constant feature in Sudan's political history, and has significantly contributed to the country's instability, underdevelopment, and human rights difficulties. Competition for economic resources (both oil and land), as well as ethnic, cultural, and religious divisions, are basic ingredients of Sudan's conflictual

Overviews

Each chapter opens with an overview outlining what you can expect to cover in the chapter.

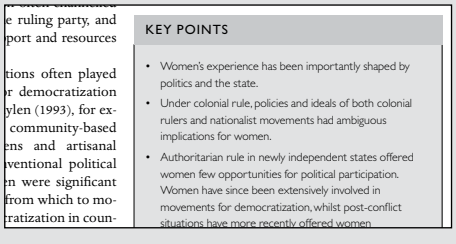

BOX 4.4 WOMEN IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

In 2014, of the approximately 3 billion people in paid employment worldwide, 1.2 billion were women. Women are consistently overrepresented in the agricultural sector, especially in Asia and Africa, and a larger proportion of women are employed in the service sector. Only 18 per cent of the 1.2 billion women were employed in industry (compared to 26.6 per cent of men), indicative of the reality that women tend to be subject to more insecure employment. Wage inequality between men and women is a worldwide phenomenon, and in most countries, developed or developing, women can expect to earn 60–90 per

and especially in the
Export-processing z
encourage inward in
manufacturing produ
The factories are oft
the poor conditions
owing to low wages,
Women remain disp
(Braunstein 2006), b
deemed more passiv

Boxes

Throughout the book, boxes give you extra information on particular topics, define and explain key ideas, and challenge you to think about what you've learned.


e ruling party, and
port and resources

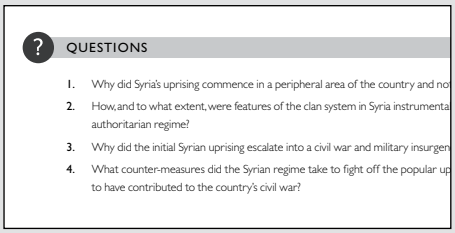
tions often played
r democratization
ylen (1993), for ex-
community-based
ens and artisanal
ventional political
n were significant
from which to mo-
ratization in coun-

KEY POINTS

- Women's experience has been importantly shaped by politics and the state.
- Under colonial rule, policies and ideals of both colonial rulers and nationalist movements had ambiguous implications for women.
- Authoritarian rule in newly independent states offered women few opportunities for political participation. Women have since been extensively involved in movements for democratization, whilst post-conflict situations have more recently offered women

Key points

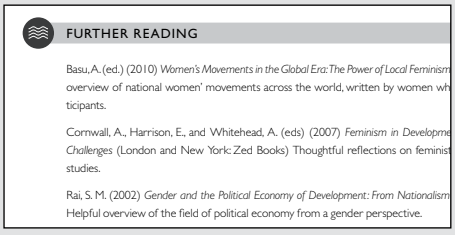
Each main chapter section ends with key points that reinforce your understanding and act as a useful revision tool.


QUESTIONS

1. Why did Syria's uprising commence in a peripheral area of the country and no
2. How, and to what extent, were features of the clan system in Syria instrumenta authoritarian regime?
3. Why did the initial Syrian uprising escalate into a civil war and military insurgen
4. What counter-measures did the Syrian regime take to fight off the popular up to have contributed to the country's civil war?

Questions

End-of-chapter questions probe your understanding of each chapter and encourage you to think critically about the material you've just covered.


FURTHER READING

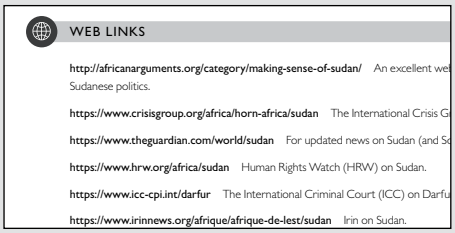
Basu, A. (ed.) (2010) *Women's Movements in the Global Era: The Power of Local Feminism* overview of national women' movements across the world, written by women wh ticipants.

Cornwall, A., Harrison, E., and Whitehead, A. (eds) (2007) *Feminism in Developme Challenges* (London and New York: Zed Books) Thoughtful reflections on feminist studies.

Rai, S. M. (2002) *Gender and the Political Economy of Development: From Nationalism* Helpful overview of the field of political economy from a gender perspective.

Further reading

Annotated recommendations for further reading at the end of each chapter identify the key literature in the field, helping you to develop your interest in particular topics.


WEB LINKS

http://africanarguments.org/category/making-sense-of-sudan/ An excellent wel Sudanese politics.

https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/sudan The International Crisis G

https://www.theguardian.com/world/sudan For updated news on Sudan (and So

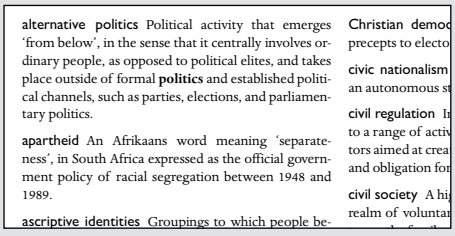
https://www.hrw.org/africa/sudan Human Rights Watch (HRW) on Sudan.

https://www.icc-cpi.int/darfur The International Criminal Court (ICC) on Darfu

https://www.irinnews.org/afrique/afrique-de-lest/sudan Irin on Sudan.

Web links

Carefully selected lists of websites direct you to the sites of institutions and organizations that will help to develop your knowledge and understanding.


alternative politics Political activity that emerges 'from below', in the sense that it centrally involves ordinary people, as opposed to political elites, and takes place outside of formal **politics** and established political channels, such as parties, elections, and parliamentary politics.

apartheid An Afrikaans word meaning 'separateness', in South Africa expressed as the official government policy of racial segregation between 1948 and 1989.

ascriptive identities Groupings to which people be-

Christian democ precepts to electo

civic nationalism an autonomous st

civil regulation I to a range of activ tors aimed at crea and obligation for

civil society A hig realm of voluntar

Glossary terms

Key terms appear in bold on their first instance in each chapter and are defined in a glossary at the end of the book, allowing you to identify and define key terms and ideas as you learn, and acting as a useful prompt when it comes to revision.

Guided Tour of the Online Resource Centre

http://www.oxfordtextbooks.co.uk/orc/burnell5e/

The Online Resource Centre that accompanies this book provides you with ready-to-use learning materials. These resources are free of charge and have been created to take your learning further.

Case studies

Existing case studies on political parties, and on the politics of Zambia, have been updated. In addition, short exploratory 'think pieces' have been included to encourage you to consider the political situations in different developing countries.

Study questions

Additional questions are designed to support your understanding of each chapter and to encourage you to think critically about the material in the textbook.

Flashcard glossary

A series of interactive flashcards containing key terms allows you to test your knowledge of important concepts and ideas.

Web links

Carefully selected lists of websites direct you to the sites of institutions and organizations that will help develop your knowledge and understanding of politics in the developing world.

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List of Abbreviations

9/11	11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States
AAP	Aam Aadmi Party (India)
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFRICOM	African Command (US)
AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome
AIIB	Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank
AKP	Justice and Development Party (Turkey)
ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance of Latin America
AMAR	All Minorities at Risk project
AMOs	administered mass organizations (South Korea)
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Attac	*Association pour une Taxation des Transactions financières pour l'Aide aux Citoyens* [Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens]
Avaaz	Global civic organization promoting activism on issues such as climate change, human rights, animal rights, corruption, poverty, and conflict
BASIC	Brazil, South Africa, India, and China
BIS	Bank for International Settlements
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party (India)
BRICs	rapidly developing emerging economies, comprising Brazil, Russia, India, and China
BRICS	BRICs plus South Africa
CACM	Central American Common Market
CAN	Andean Community
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy (EU)
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CBOs	community-based organizations
CCI	Contemporary Capabilities Index
CCP	Chinese Communist Party; Comparative Constitutions Project
CCTV	China Central Television
CDB	China Development Bank
CDSA	South American Defense Council
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CGD	Center for Global Development
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIVETS	Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa
CNDM	National Council for Women's Rights (Brazil)
CNG	compressed natural gas
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority (Iraq); comprehensive peace agreement (Sudan)
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CRG	Centre for Research on Globalization
CSOs	civil society organizations
CSR	corporate social responsibility
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPD	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* [Peoples Representative Council] (Indonesia)
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire)
DSB	Dispute Settlement Body (WTO)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EIAs	environmental impact assessments
EPB	Economic Planning Board (South Korea)
EPZs	export-processing zones
EU	European Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
FOCAC	Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
FOMWAN	Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria
FPTP	first past the post
FRELIMO	Mozambican Liberation Front
FRG	*Frente Republicano Guatemalteco* [Guatemalan Republican Front]
FSA	Free Syrian Army
FSB	Financial Stability Board (BIS)
FSC	Forestry Stewardship Council
FTAs	free trade agreements

FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G2	China and the United States
G7	Group of seven established industrial countries, comprising Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States
G8	Group of established industrial countries comprising G7 plus Russia (and EU representation)
G20	Group of finance ministers and central bank governors of twenty leading industrialized and developing economies
G77	Group of seventy-seven least-developed countries
GAM	Aceh Freedom Movement (Indonesia)
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GDP	gross domestic product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GHG	greenhouse gas
GM	genetically modified
GNI	gross national income
GNP	gross national product
Golkar	*Golongan Karya* [Functional Group] (Indonesia)
Hanura	People's Conscience Party (Indonesia)
HCI	heavy and chemical industries
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency (UN)
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICNL	International Center for Non-Profit Law
IDA	International Development Association
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDS	Institute of Development Studies (UK)
IFE	Federal Electoral Institute (Mexico)
IFI	international finance institution
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development (Eastern Africa)
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development (UK)
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development (Canada)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDCs	intended nationally determined contributions
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IS	so-called Islamic State (otherwise known as ISIS, ISIL, or Daesh)
ISI	import-substituting industrialization; Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistan)
ISIL	*See* IS
ISIS	*See* IS
ISNIE	International Society for New Institutional Economics
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
IT	information technology
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation
KPK	Corruption Eradication Commission (Indonesia)
KPU	Independent Election Commission (Indonesia)
KWAU	Korean Women's Associations United
LDCs	least-developed countries
LGBT	gay, lesbian, bisexual, trans, intersex, and queer
MAD	mutually assured destruction
MAR	Minorities at Risk project
MAVINS	Mexico, Australia, Vietnam, Indonesia, Nigeria, and South Africa
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals (of the United Nations)
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Delta (Nigeria)
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market (Latin America)
MINT	Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey
MNCs	multinational corporations
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCP	National Congress Party (Sudan)
NDB	New Development Bank
NDD	non-DAC donor
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (AU)
NGO	non-governmental organization
NICs	newly industrialized countries (mainly East Asia)
NLD	National League for Democracy (Myanmar)
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRM	National Resistance Movement (Uganda)
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity

ODA	official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSW	Office of the Status of Women (South Africa)
PAN	National Action Party (Mexico)
Partai Nasdem	Nasdem Party (Indonesia)
PD	Democratic Party (Indonesia)
PDI	Indonesian Democratic Party
PDI-P	Indonesia Democratic Party–Struggle
PDP	People's Democratic Party (Nigeria)
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PEGIDA	Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the West
PES	payments for ecosystem services
PKB	National Awakening Party (Indonesia)
PKI	Communist Party of Indonesia
PKS	Justice and Welfare Party (Indonesia)
PML(Q)	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid)
PPP	Pakistan People's Party; purchasing power parity
PR	proportional representation
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRD	Party of the Democratic Revolution (Mexico)
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (Mexico)
PRN	National Revolutionary Party (Mexico)
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RCTs	randomized control trials
REDD	reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
ROC	Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea (South Korea)
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SALs	structural adjustment loans
SAPs	structural adjustment programmes
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SAVAK	Organization for Intelligence and National Security (Iran)
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yodhoyono
SCs	Scheduled Castes (India)
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDRs	special drawing rights
SERNAM	*Servicio Nacional de la Mujer* [National Women's Service] (Chile)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SMEs	small and medium-sized enterprises
SMUG	Sexual Minorities Uganda
SPM	Special Secretariat of Public Policies for Women (UN)
TEPJF	Electoral Tribunal of the Judicial Power of the Federation (Mexico)
TI	Transparency International
TNCs	transnational corporations
TTP	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
TWN	Third World Network
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNCAC	United Nation Convention against Corruption
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNITA	National Union for Total Independence of Angola
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNU-WIDER	United Nations University's World Institute for Development Economics Research
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
URNG	*Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* [Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity]
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAT	value added tax
V-DEM	Varieties of Democracy project
WAF	Women's Action Forum (Pakistan)
WBCC	World Bank Control of Corruption
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organization
WGI	World Governance Indicators
WHO	World Health Organization
WLUML	Women Living under Muslim Laws
WMDs	weapons of mass destruction
WSF	World Social Forum
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

Lise Rakner and Vicky Randall

Chapter contents

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- Politics as Independent or Dependent Variable? 4
- Global Trends 5
- Organization of the Book 7

The aim of this book is to explore the changing nature of **politics** in the **developing world** in the twenty-first century. It analyses central developments and debates, illustrated by current examples drawn from the global South, covering such issues as **institutions** and **governance**, but also the growing importance of **alternative politics** and **social movements**, security, and post-conflict state-crafting. The present edition builds on earlier editions, but brings the discussion up to date. It looks at the 'Arab uprisings', considered as social movements or from the perspectives of religion, **gender**, and democracy, offering new case studies of Syria and the Sudan. And it highlights the growing importance of South–South relations, with case studies of China, India, and Brazil.

Both 'politics' and the 'developing world' are concepts that require further elaboration, and which are discussed more fully next. By 'politics', we mean broadly activities associated with the process and institutions of government, or the state, but in the context of wider power relations and struggles. By the 'developing world', we are primarily referring to those regions that were formerly colonized by Western powers, which have been late to industrialize and which sustain relatively high levels of poverty—that is, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, including the Caribbean.

In our analysis of politics in the developing world, the complex and changing nexus between state and society has centre stage. This is because it is the reciprocal interaction of state and society, and the influence that each one exerts on the other, that most accounts for the distinctive character of developing countries' politics. Needless to say, that influence varies in both degree and kind, over time, as between individual states and inside states. The book does not set out to present a case for saying that the state is now marginal for the political analysis of developing countries nor

does it argue that we must 'bring the state back in'. On the contrary, it recognizes that issues concerning the state have been, are, and will remain central to the political analysis, notwithstanding important developments—political, financial, economic, technological, and even social, at the sub-state, regional, and especially global levels—that are reshaping the nature, size, role, and performance of individual states.

A book about politics in the developing world is not the same thing as a book about development per se, or about development studies. Indeed, the book does not have as its main objective an emphasis on the politics *of* development by which is meant the elucidation of different development theories. There are other books that have been designed for this purpose. Certainly, there has been a trend in the study of development to comprehend development in an increasingly holistic sense—one that emphasizes its multifaceted nature and the interconnectedness of the various parts, of which politics provides one very important element. And while the chapters of the book do explore key relationships between politics and society, and between politics and the economy, they do so without any mission to demonstrate that politics is in some sense the 'master science' that unlocks all other subjects. Instead, the consequences that development can have for politics in the developing countries are as much a part of the analysis in this book as the implications that the politics have for development. So, although the book's primary focus is politics rather than development, we hope that its contents will still be of interest to anyone who is involved in development studies more generally.

A word is also needed explaining the geographical coverage of the book. The boundaries of the developing world are neither uncontentious nor unchanging. We have already suggested which regions have tended historically to be associated with it. However, this book's coverage—and more especially its case studies—do not include all of the possible candidates, primarily for pragmatic reasons. Thus Cuba, Vietnam, and some other countries that at one time claimed to be socialist, even Marxist–Leninist, are just as much part of the developing world as are the many countries that now defer to capitalism and adopt political pluralism. But, notwithstanding the financial and economic traumas that hit the global system in 2008, such countries remain a small band. A few, such as Bolivia and Ecuador, are currently pioneering redistributive social and economic policies, but the forces of **globalization** in the post-Soviet, post-cold-war world do seem to militate against a more widespread radical socialist transformation. Indeed, China, whose credentials to be considered part of the developing world are open to debate, shows no intention of reverting to communism as an organizing principle for political economy even though it remains a one-party communist state. However, because contemporary China's relations with developing countries are increasingly significant and the distinctive combination of China's own politics with its rapid economic development appears to some to be a model for others to follow, a chapter on China's relations with the developing world is included in this book.

There are other parts of the world, beyond the regions traditionally included, that might now be considered to fall into this 'developing world' category. Although no express reference is made in the book to those elements of the post-communist world, a handful of the new European and Central Asian states that formerly belonged to the 'Second World' have certain characteristics long associated with the developing world. Some of them have come to acquire developing country **status**, in as much as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD's) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) has made countries such as Albania and Armenia eligible for **official development assistance** (**ODA**). By comparison, the post-communist world's more advanced members were styled 'countries in transition' and judged ineligible for such aid. Readers are free to apply the concepts and propositions in this book to an examination of all of these other countries if they wish, just as area specialists seeking insights into those countries will find here material that resonates for their own subject. After all, the growing interdependence of states, and the rise of trans-territorial and supranational issues, such as those embraced by what might be called the 'new security agenda', certainly do not respect all of the distinctions between categories of countries, let alone national borders. The geopolitical unit of analysis that is most relevant to understanding the issues can easily straddle different states only some of which possess all of the main traits conventionally associated with developing countries. Similarly, there are regions and localities inside the wealthiest countries ('the South in the North') that share certain 'Southern' or 'Third World' characteristics, relative economic and social deprivation being one such characteristic, which the global economic recession since 2009 brought into sharper relief.

From Third World to Developing World

The developing world has been variously referred to as the 'Third World', the 'South', and the 'less developed countries (LDCs)', among other titles. Some of the members are rightly deemed 'emerging economies', and there is a distinctive group—the so-called BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, China—supplemented by South Africa since 2010 and now referred to as BRICS)—that current debate singles out as rising powers, the harbingers of a new emerging multipolarity or more fragmented world. For example, four of these countries—Brazil, South Africa, India, and China—played a key role alongside the United States in negotiating the Copenhagen Accord of the United Nations Climate Change Conference (December 2009), and the same countries, plus Argentina, Indonesia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and Turkey, also formally belong to the G20 group of the world's leading economies, taking part in, for example, the succession of summit talks on tackling global economic crisis and promoting economic development, most recently held in Brisbane in 2014 and Istanbul in 2015.

In fact, the question of the meaningfulness of the Third World as an organizing concept has long been the subject of as much dispute as the term's precise definition or true origins. Successive rationales for marking out a distinct Third World associated this world with a stance of non-alignment towards the capitalist and communist superpowers, with post-colonial status, with dependence on Western capitalism, and with poverty and economic 'backwardness'. Together, this comprised a confusing melange of external, as well as internal, economic and political descriptors. Following the collapse of Soviet power, the disappearance of the 'Second World' served to hasten the decline of the 'Third World' as a category name. Here is not the place to revisit the history of the debates about a term that, by and large, have now been brought to a conclusion. An abundant literature exists (Wolf-Phillips 1979; Berger 1994; Randall 2004). In keeping with the general trend, then, we have preferred to use the term 'developing world' for this book. In so doing, we do not mean to imply that this term is entirely uncontroversial or unproblematic. Assuming a conventional understanding of 'development', there are many parts of the developing world in which such a process is little in evidence and some in which it might even seem to be in retreat. There are also those who question the validity of such conventional understandings of 'development'—who indeed see development itself as an ideological construct subservient to the interests of Western donors, the international aid 'industry', and suchlike. We recognize the force of many of these arguments. At any rate, whatever term is favoured, there has also been a growing appreciation of the very considerable diversity to be found among and within those countries traditionally seen to come under its umbrella, and the widening of differences in their role and stance towards major issues in world politics.

Notwithstanding what, in many instances, has been a shared colonial past, some of the differences have always been there, such as the enormous range in demographic and territorial size. At only the lower end of the scale, the distinction between 'small' and 'micro' states—which, in total, make up around 40 per cent of all developing countries and territories—is a topic for debate. In contrast, in a regional context, some of the larger developing countries now appear to be approaching almost superpower-like status, even while remaining vulnerable to major external shocks. Thus a country such as India, a nuclear power with a population that exceeds 1 billion people, has very strong claims to be admitted to the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Some people champion similar claims for Brazil and Nigeria, although the latter is less stable politically and its fortunes continue to rest heavily on a very narrow base of energy exports.

Similarly, the developing world has always been noted for considerable variety in terms of economic dynamism and technological progress, and recent decades have served only to make these contrasts more pronounced. Just as average incomes were in decline in many parts of Africa in the latter years of the twentieth century (although, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, there are real signs that this may be changing), so some of the so-called tiger economies in East Asia have become developed countries in all but name. South Korea is a member of the OECD and now a member of the DAC. Its inclusion as a case study in this book illustrates how far and how quickly countries can develop if political and other conditions are favourable. Yet in many parts of the developing world, including India, China, and large parts of Latin America, great inequalities persist alongside the growing prosperity of an emerging middle class and political elite. It may be significant that, when the World Economic Forum met in Davos in January 2013,

hundreds of economic experts from around the globe agreed that the biggest challenge facing the world is the increasing income gap between rich and poor. It was noted not only that is there an income gap between individual countries, but also that many developing countries are currently experiencing dramatic income disparities between various groups.

Until the 1980s, despite the differences in size and economic performance, it was possible to argue that most countries in the developing world had in common certain domestic political traits. These included a tendency towards authoritarian rule, whether based on the military, a single ruling party or personal dictatorship, or severe instability and internal conflict, and endemic **corruption**. But, more recently, political differences that were already there have become much more pronounced—and nowhere more so than in the recognition that some states are failing, or are even close to collapse. We are increasingly aware of the wide disparities in state strength and of the significance (not least for development) of variations in the quality of governance. The role played by ethnic and religious identity in politics has also come more to the fore, with the misfortunes of Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein providing a vivid example. In contrast, in Latin America, ethno-nationalism and religious conflict have been relatively minor themes, which is not to say that they are absent: indigenous peoples have started to come out of the shadows. Examples of alternative politics and non-violent action by social movements are demanding increasing attention in this and some other parts of the developing world, whilst the complex chain of events originating in the 'Arab uprisings' continues to defy confident categorization and prediction.

In sum, we are increasingly conscious of change, complexity, and diversity in the developing world, and of significant disagreements that follow from differences such as those related to national power. Some common features among developing countries, such as the colonial experience, are now receding into history, which makes old manifestations of 'Third World solidarity', such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), harder to keep alive in their original form. This means that the many differences within the developing world now appear in sharper relief even as new ways of constructing shared interests vis-à-vis the rich world and forging new South–South links among governments and non-governmental actors also proceed apace.

Politics as Independent or Dependent Variable?

Most people—still more so, politics students—will have some idea of what is intended by the term 'politics'. Generally, political scientists understand it to refer to activities surrounding the process and institutions of government or the state, and that is a focus that we share in this book. However, there is another tradition, which some describe as 'sociological', that tends to identify politics with power relationships and structures, including, but by no means confined to, the state. They include, for instance, relationships between socio-economic classes or other kinds of social group, and between genders. When studying politics in the developing world, we believe it to be particularly important to locate analysis of political processes in their narrower sense within the wider context of social relationships and conflicts. Here, one of the themes and puzzles is the relationship between the more formal aspects of political processes and institutions, which may, to some degree, have been imposed or modelled on Western prototypes, and their 'informal' aspects. The latter can be very resilient and may even be regarded as more authentic. The informal hierarchies of power between patrons and clients are a specific example that applies especially, although not exclusively, to the developing world.

Despite our insistence on the need to understand politics in the wider power context, this does not rule out what is sometimes referred to as the 'autonomy of the political'—that is, the ability of politics to have independent and significant effects of its own. Thus any account of politics in the developing world that goes beyond the merely descriptive can have one or both of two objectives: to make sense of the politics; and to disclose what else the politics itself helps us to understand better. Succinctly, politics can be treated as *explanandum* or *explanans*, and possibly as both.

For some decades, there was a large movement in political science to view politics as the dependent variable. Analysts sought to advance our understanding of politics and to gain some predictive potential in regard to future political developments by rooting it in some 'more fundamental' aspects of the human condition, sometimes called structural 'conditions'. This was nowhere more evident than in the tendency to argue that the kind of political **regime**—namely, the relationship between rulers and ruled, usually depicted somewhere along the continuum from a highly

authoritarian to a more liberal democratic polity—is a product largely of economic circumstance. The level of economic achievement, the nature and pace of economic change, and the social consequences were all considered highly important. It was not only Marxists who subscribed to broadly this kind of view; there were also others who sought to explain politics, especially in some parts of the developing world, more as an outcome of certain cultural conditions. This invoked a matrix of social divisions much richer and potentially more confusing than a simple class-based analysis would allow. These and other inclinations that view politics as contingent are still very much in evidence in contemporary theorizing about politics in the developing world, as several of the chapters in Parts 1 and 2 of the book will show.

However, over recent decades in political science, the larger study of comparative politics and area studies too have increased the weight given to the idea of politics as an independent variable, claiming in principle that politics matters: not only is it affected, but it too can have effects. Mair (1996) characterized this as a shift from an emphasis on asking what causes political systems to emerge, to take shape, and possibly to persist towards questions about what outputs and outcomes result from the political processes, and how well various political institutions perform. Making sense of the politics now goes beyond only explaining it; it extends also to investigating the impact of politics and its consequences. That includes the way in which contemporary politics are affected by the political history of a country—a proposition that is sometimes given the label of **path dependence**, which, in its more narrow and most meaningful application, suggests that **institutional** choices tend to become self-reinforcing (see Pierson 2000).

This move to view the more autonomous side of politics coincides with the rise of new institutionalism in political studies. New institutionalism has been described in a seminal article by March and Olsen (1984: 747) as neither a theory nor a coherent critique of one, but instead 'simply an argument that the organisation of political life makes a difference'. The new institutionalism (explored more fully in Chapter 3) directs us to the study of political process and political design, but not simply as outcomes or in terms of their contextual 'conditions'. This is not a completely new mood. As March and Olsen (1984) rightly say, historically, political science has emphasized the ways in which political behaviour is embedded in an institutional structure of norms, rules, expectations, and traditions that constrain the free play of individual will. The implications of this approach, and of tracing what political forms and political choices mean for a large set of issues of public concern—environmental issues, for instance—are explored in Parts 3 and 4 of the book especially. In doing so, the chapters provide a bridge to studying the larger phenomenon of **human development**. Here, we take our cue from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which said that its 2002 Human Development Report was 'first and foremost about the idea that politics is as important to successful development as economics' (UNDP 2002: v). The UNDP's understanding is that human development, an idea that has grown in acceptance across a broad spectrum of development studies, aims to promote not simply higher material consumption, but also the freedom, well-being, and dignity of people everywhere. Development, then, has a political goal, just as politics is integral to how we understand the meaning of development.

Global Trends

Notwithstanding the increasing differentiation within the developing world, it is a fact that, over the last few decades, there has also been a growing convergence. This is the result of the presence of a number of major interconnected trends, political and economic, domestic and international. But these trends, far from reconfirming the more old-fashioned notions of the Third World, are instead ensuring that some of the most striking similarities emerging in the developing world today have a very different character from the Third World of old. This point is well worth illustrating before moving on.

One such trend, entrenched towards the end of the last century, comprised pressures from within and without the societies to adopt the so-called **Washington consensus** of the Bretton Woods institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank—on economic policy and national economic management. These developments have been held responsible in part for a near-universal movement in the direction of **neoliberalism** and marketization. There has been a shift from public ownership and the direct control of economic life by the state towards acceptance and encouragement of for-profit enterprise and growing opportunities for non-governmental

development organizations. Although proceeding at different paces in different places and experiencing widely varying degrees of success, the implications of such changes for politics generally and for the state specifically can be quite profound. Ultimately, the same might be true of the **post-Washington consensus**, which is now commonly said to have succeeded the earlier development and which appears to give a bit more priority to tackling poverty, as well as to highlighting the developmental importance of attaining **good governance**. How this trend may be further modified by the growing importance of the new non-DAC donors, especially China (see Part 8), it is too early to say.

If *economic* liberalization has been one prong of a growing convergence among developing countries, then pressures towards *political* liberalization and democratization have been a second and, according to some accounts, symbiotically related development. The amount of substantive change that has actually taken place and its permanence are both open to discussion. Indeed, after a time in the early 1990s when the third wave of democratization seemed to have unstoppable momentum and some observers talked about the 'end of history', far more cautious claims are now much in evidence. By 2016, the reality has become much more confused: authoritarian or semi-authoritarian persistence in some places sits alongside evidence of democratic reversal in yet others. While a number of the 'new democracies' are of questionable quality, the progress made by others has confounded the cynics. Yet, irrespective of how truly liberal (in the political sense) or even democratic most developing countries really are and of how many possess market economies that are truly vibrant, recognition of the importance of governance in whatever way we define it (the definitions are many, some of them so vague or all-encompassing as to be almost useless—see Chapter 15) is ubiquitous. All of these agendas have been driven strongly by developed-world institutions and, notwithstanding the varied responses and reactions, the developing world now looks a rather different place from the way in which the Third World was formerly understood.

Underpinning these and many other contemporary developments—such as the campaigns for gender equity, the salience of 'new security' issues, and international monitoring of **human rights**—there is the growing significance ascribed to globalization. Here, globalization is understood at a minimum as 'the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one part of the world more and more have effects on peoples and societies far away' (Baylis and Smith 2001: 7). The influence may be direct and positive, or negative, or both. It can also work indirectly. And, of course, the developing countries are touched unevenly and in different ways, as is made clear in this book. In purely economic terms, some are largely bystanders: they may share few of the claimed benefits even while incurring accidental and unintended costs. Their continuing vulnerability to fluctuations in the world market for their commodities is illustrative. Globalization theorists tell us that the sites of power are becoming more dispersed and some say that power is leaking away from the state—more so in the case of many developing countries, which may be small or very poor, or have weak governance structures, than for big countries such as the United States, Japan, Russia, China, or even the other BRICS. This unevenness is an unwritten assumption in much of the international political economy literature on globalization, which, by its own admission, biases attention towards the economically more developed parts of the world (see, for example, Phillips 2005). It provides one more reason for arguing that treating the developing world as a distinct, but not separate, entity continues to make sense.

Thus while the old order summed up by 'First', 'Second', and 'Third' Worlds has disappeared and the international system appears to be edging towards a very uncertain future characterized by a greater dispersion of power compared to the cold war and its immediate aftermath, differences still exist between the developing world and its counterpart in the more affluent North. And if US foreign initiatives after the **terrorist** attacks of 11 September 2001 ('9/11'), especially in the Middle East, caused widespread resentment in developing regions triggered by perceptions of a new imperialism reminiscent of older struggles for liberation from colonial rule, then claims to developing world solidarity might be credited with some purchase even now. A shared sensitivity to incursions or infringements of their sovereignty still supplies a common cause, one that China quite expressly promotes, although, of course, unlike European Union (EU) member states, countries such as the United States are hardly keen to surrender **political autonomy** either. Perhaps the dividing lines are nowhere more evident than in the North–South alignment over how to respond to global climate change. Most of

the developed world sees a reduction in global greenhouse gas emissions as the priority, but many developing countries—including India and, at least until recently, China—have seemed less convinced, and rather draw attention to the urgency of climate adaptation in developing countries and to the rich world's obligation both to cut emissions and to offer help. A new focus of mutual resentment and suspicion may be building over the issue of refugee and migrant flows. Always pressing, this has recently become still more acute, sharpened for those in the developed world by the unprecedented influx from Syria, Libya, Afghanistan, and beyond into Europe over the summer of 2015. The image of the lifeless body of the boy Aylan Kurdi on a Turkish beach became emblematic of the crisis, inspiring compassion and panic in equal measure in the developed world. And yet four-fifths of the world's refugees are hosted by developing countries themselves. Interests and issues like these share with identities a responsibility for how the different worlds are constructed, or construct themselves—sometimes expressly in opposition to one another.

Even so, we should be continually challenging ourselves to distinguish between, on the one side, what, how, and how far changes really are taking place in developing world politics and, on the other side, the changes in our understanding that owe most to the lens through which we study the subject. Here, history tells us that, for the most part, the lens tends to originate, or comes to be ground more finely, outside and not inside the developing world. This is an important point: registering major developing world contributions to the way in which developing world politics is understood by observers in the developed world is crucial, but, while far from impossible, is not an easy or straightforward task.

Organization of the Book

The book comprises eight parts, the last four of which (Parts 5–8) contain case studies that illustrate some of the key concepts and themes presented in the first parts of the book (Parts 1–4). Each part is introduced by its own brief survey of contents; these short introductions can be read alongside this opening chapter. Part 1, on analytical approaches and the global context, should be read first. The aim of this part is to provide an introduction to general theoretical approaches that offer different ways of making sense of the politics in the developing world. These simplifying devices enable us to bring some order to a great mass of facts. They are useful both for directing our inquiries and because they provide a lens or lenses through which to interpret the empirical information. They suggest explanations for what we find there. Ultimately, the point of theorizing is not simply to explain, but also to provide a gateway to prediction. And however tenuous social science's claims to be able to predict with any confidence may be, the book aims both to assess the present of developing countries in the light of the past and to identify the major political uncertainties facing them in the foreseeable future.

So it is entirely appropriate that, immediately following the analytical overview, there is a chapter on colonialism and post-coloniality—themes that still resonate in so many different ways. Special attention is then given to institutional perspectives, followed by the changing international context. The glib conviction that now, more than ever, all of humanity resides in 'one world' betokens a very real fact of growing interconnectedness and interdependence, albeit highly asymmetric. There is increasing global economic integration at its core, but important political and other expressions of globalization, including new patterns in relationships among developing countries and China, should not be ignored either. The different analytical approaches that these chapters offer should not be viewed as entirely mutually exclusive. Each can quite plausibly have something valuable to offer, even though the emphases may shift when applied to different country situations and historical epochs. Readers must form their own judgements about which particular theoretical propositions offer most insight into specific issues and problems, or the more general condition of politics in developing countries. It is not the book's aim to be prescriptive in this regard, other than to restate that, where possible, notable perspectives from the developing world should be reflected.

Parts 2 and 3 set out to illuminate the changing nature, role, and situation of the state in relation to key social variables within developing countries. The two parts are a mirror image of one another. Together, they explore both how the politics reflects or is affected by social context, and how states specifically have responded to the challenges posed by society and the social effects. Particular attention is given to what this means in terms of the changing use and distribution of political power among state institutions and other actors. Thus Part 2 introduces the themes

of inequality, ethnopolitics and nationalism, religion, gender, **civil society**, and alternative politics and social movements, in that order. Part 3 proceeds to theorize the state, before going on to examine the distinctive features of states that are trying to escape violent conflict at home. This is followed by an examination of the conditions of democratization, and of the relations between democratization and development, and by a discussion of governance, in which emphasis is placed on how power is exercised and checked once a government is in office.

Part 4 identifies major policy issues that confront all developing countries to a greater or lesser degree. In general terms, the issues are not peculiar to the developing world, but they do have a special resonance and their own character there. And although the issues also belong to the larger discourse on development per se, Part 4 aims to uncover why and how they become expressly political. It compares different political responses, and their consequences both for politics and development. The issues range from economic development and the environment, to human rights and security. Some of these could just as well have been introduced in earlier chapters of the book. This is because the presentations in Part 4 do not concentrate purely on the *details* of policy, but rather, out of necessity, seek to locate the policies within the context of the policy *issues* as such. However, all of these more policy-oriented chapters are grouped together because they are representative of major challenges for society and for government. Of course, where readers prefer to relate material from a chapter in Part 4 more closely to the material that comes earlier in the book, then there is no need for them to follow the chapters in strict numerical order.

Parts 5–8 aim to illustrate in some depth, or by what is sometimes called 'thick description', principal themes raised in the earlier parts, so complementing the use there of examples drawn more widely from around the developing world. While space limitations mean that the case studies are not designed to cover all aspects of a country's politics, the cases have been selected both with an eye to their intrinsic interest and for the contrasts that they provide in relation to one or more of the larger themes introduced earlier. Also, attention has been given not simply to illustrating developing country problems and weaknesses, but also to highlighting cases that offer a more positive experience. A deliberate aim of the book is to show the developing world as a place of diversity and rapid transformations. All of the main geographical regions are represented in Parts 5–8, together with the supplements offered by the book's Online Resource Centre. Part 5 includes three case studies, of Pakistan, Indonesia, and Syria, highlighting the issue of **regime change**. In Part 6, focus shifts to the debates over state power, and over fragile and strong states, illustrated by the cases of Iraq, Mexico, and South Korea. Part 7 draws on the debates about development and human rights discussed in more detail in Part 4, illustrated by three case studies of Nigeria, Guatemala, and the Sudan, respectively. In the final section (Part 8), emphasis is put on the increasingly strong South–South relations. The new role of developing countries in international politics is illustrated through country case studies of Brazil, China, and India.

In total, the country studies once again highlight the great range of experience in the developing world. They also demonstrate the benefit to be gained from a detailed historical knowledge of the individual cases. But although the cases differ not least in respect of their relative success or failure regarding development in the widest sense and politics specifically, none of them offers a simple or straightforward picture. The case studies should be read in conjunction with the appropriate chapter(s) from the earlier parts and are not intended to be read in isolation.

The editors' view is that a final chapter headed 'Conclusions' is not needed. The chapters each contain their own summaries; such a large collected body of material is not easily reduced without making some arbitrary decisions—and, most importantly, readers should be encouraged to form their own conclusions. It is almost inevitable that readers will differ in terms of the themes, issues, and even the countries or regions about which they will most want to form conclusions. And it is in the nature of the subject that there is no single set of 'right' answers that the editors can distil. On the contrary, studying politics in the developing world is so fascinating precisely because it is such a rich field of inquiry and constantly gives rise to new rounds of challenging questions.

So we finish here by posing some overarching questions that readers might want to keep in mind as they read the chapters. These questions might be used to help to structure the sort of general debate that often takes place towards the end of courses or study programmes that this book aims to serve. In principle, the individual subject of each of the chapters and of each of the case studies merits further investigation.

But for courses occupying a very limited number of weeks, lectures or tutor presentations might concentrate only on material drawn from Parts 1–4, and the allotted preparatory student reading each week might include the relevant case study material.

- Is politics in the developing world so very different from politics elsewhere that understanding it requires a distinct theoretical framework?
- Is there a single theoretical framework adequate for the purpose of comprehending politics in all countries of the developing world, or should we call on some combination of different frameworks?
- Are the main political trends experienced by the developing world in recent decades summed up best by 'increasing diversity' or by 'growing convergence', and are these trends likely to continue in the future?
- What are the advantages of applying a gendered framework of analysis to the study of politics in developing countries, and does one particular gendered framework offer equivalent insights in all countries?
- In what political respects is the developing world truly developing and in what respects are significant parts of it *not* developing—or even travelling in the opposite direction?
- What grounds are there for being optimistic, or pessimistic, about the ability of states to resolve conflict and to manage change peacefully in the developing world?
- Are the role of the state and the nature of the public policy process fundamentally changing in the developing world, and if so, in what respects?
- What principal forces, domestic or global, are creating incentives and pressures for fundamental political change and what forces are resisting or obstructing such change?
- How should developing countries' policies concerning the major public issues of our time differ from the typical policies that we see widely adopted in developed countries?
- What lessons most relevant to other societies can be learned by studying politics in the developing world and to which countries, or groups of countries, are these lessons most relevant?
- Drawing on what you understand about politics in the developing world, should China be included among the countries that are studied as part of the developing world?

WEB LINKS

http://www.crisisgroup.org International Crisis Group is a non-governmental organization (NGO) that provides regular updates and reports on geopolitical issues.

http://www.eldis.org Thousands of online documents, organizations, and messages convey information on development policy, practice, and research.

http://www.gdnet.org The site of the Global Development Network, a worldwide network of research and policy institutes aiming to generate research at the local level in developing countries and to provide alternative perspectives to those originating in the more developed world.

http://www.ids.ac.uk/british-library-for-development-studies The British Library for Development Studies claims to be Europe's largest research collection on social and economic change in developing countries.

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/index.html A collection of contemporary and historical maps is housed at the University of Texas at Austin.

http://www.undp.org The UNDP is an organization advocating for change and facilitating exchange of knowledge about the developing world.

PART I

Approaches and Global Context

Politics in the **developing world** offers an enormously rich and fascinating canvas of material for investigation. If we are to make sense of what we find, we must approach the subject in a structured and orderly way, with a clear sense of purpose. That means having an adequate framework, or frameworks, of analysis comprising appropriate concepts lucidly defined, together with a set of coherent organizing propositions. Propositions are advanced to explain the political phenomena in terms of their relationships both with one another and with other variables—including the influencing factors and the factors that are themselves influenced by, and demonstrate the importance of, politics. This part of the book introduces analytical approaches to the study of politics in the developing world. It reviews the contribution that can be made by a particular focus on **institutions** and the analytical purchase that adopting such a focus entails. It also sets out to situate politics within both an historical and an international and increasingly globalizing environment, as befits the increase of interdependence ('one world') and supra-territoriality that appear so distinctive of modern times.

This part has two aims. *First*, it aims to identify the most enlightening analytical approaches for an understanding of politics in the 'developing world'. Is this a sufficiently distinct entity to warrant its own theory, or can we usefully apply approaches that are current in 'mainstream' political science? It compares the main broad-gauge theoretical frameworks that, at different times, have been offered for just this very purpose. Have the theoretical approaches that were pioneered in the early years of decolonization and post-colonial rule now been overtaken and made redundant by the other, more recent, critical perspectives, such as those offered by post-modern and **post-structuralist** thinking, **orientalism**, and the like? Do some theories or perspectives work better for some

cases than for others? It also considers the application of a specific approach, the 'new institutionalism', which is currently widely deployed in the discipline as a whole. How helpful is this approach and what adaptations need to be made?

The *second* aim is to show why and in what ways it is becoming increasingly difficult to understand, or even to describe, politics within developing countries without taking account of its distinctive context. The first aspect of this context to be examined is the influence of pre-colonial and colonial legacies. Upon differences in pre-colonial patterns of society and the structuring of authority were superimposed a variety of colonial **regime** types (for instance regarding the duration of colonial rule and the cultural background of the colonizers). How, and to what extent, have these diverse experiences shaped trajectories of the state and development in the developing world? To what extent do such legacies continue to be relevant to a proper understanding of politics in the contemporary developing world?

The second and essential contextual consideration is the role of factors in the contemporary international system. These latter inter-state and supra-state influences originate in economic, financial, diplomatic, cultural, and other forums. Many of these influences can penetrate state borders without having either express consent or tacit approval from government. They collaborate and collide with a variety of intra- and non-state actors, reaching far down to the sub-state and subnational levels. At the same time, developing countries also participate in, and seek to influence, regional networks and wider international organizations. The so-called BRICS (referring to Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) are a good example: even if the potential of this group of states to act as one in international affairs is not fully realized, recent changes on the international stage, plus the emergence of China and India as new development donors, suggest a paradigm shift in North–South, as well as South–South, relations. The nature of 'South–South' relations should be compared with 'North–South' relations before and since the end of the cold war. This part helps us to consider the developing world's place within the global system as a whole: how far are developing country politics conditioned by powerful constraints and pressures originating outside? Are those pressures and constraints, and their impact, in any sense comparable to 'neo-colonialism' or, indeed, the imperialism of old? Is power in the developing world now being ceded not so much to governments in the rich world as to a more diffuse, and less controllable, multilayered set of global commercial, financial, and economic forces and institutions? Or does their possession of valuable resources and growing presence enable at least some developing countries to be increasingly assertive in respect of their **political autonomy** and influence on world affairs? Readers are encouraged to consult relevant case studies—in particular, Chapters 28–30 in Part 8 on 'South–South Relations' and the changing landscape of international development cooperation—alongside the chapters in Part 1.

1

Changing Analytical Approaches to the Study of Politics in the Developing World

Vicky Randall

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Overview

Two contrasting broad approaches long dominated political analysis of developing countries. One was a politics of modernization that gave rise to political development theory, then to revised versions of that approach, which stressed the continuing, if changing, role of tradition and the need for strong government, respectively. Second was a Marxist-inspired approach that gave rise to dependency theory and, subsequently, to neo-Marxist analysis, which focused on the relative autonomy of the state. By the 1980s, both approaches were running out of steam, but were partially subsumed in globalization theory, which emphasized the ongoing process, accelerated by developments in communications and the end of the cold war, of global economic integration, and its cultural and political ramifications. In the absence of a systematic critique, an alternative to this mainstream perspective was provided in the literatures on orientalism and post-coloniality, and on post-development, and more generally from a post-structural perspective. Nowadays, the very concept of a developing world is increasingly hard to sustain and, with it, the possibility of identifying one distinct analytic approach, as opposed to middle-range theories and a particular focus on the role of institutions more widely evident in contemporary political studies. However, certain key themes and agendas provide some degree of coherence. Similarly, there is no distinctive set of methodological approaches, but rather the application of approaches more generally available in the social sciences.

Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the main broad analytical approaches or frameworks of interpretation that have been employed in studying **politics** in the **developing world**. The 'developing world' contains numerous highly diverse political systems. To varying degrees, its analysts have looked to theories or frameworks of analysis to provide appropriate concepts or containers of information, and to allow comparison and generalization across countries or regions. Some frameworks have been relatively modest or 'middle-range', but others have been much more ambitious. Moreover, despite aspirations to scientific objectivity and rigour, they have inevitably reflected the circumstances under which they were formulated—for instance political scientists' underlying values, domestic political pressures, and funding inducements, as well as perceived changes in the developing countries themselves. We all need to be aware of these approaches, and the surrounding debates, if we are to read the literature critically and form our own views.

We begin with 'the politics of **modernization**', emerging in the United States in the 1950s. This approach, including political development theory and its various 'revisions', operated from a mainstream, liberal, or (to its left critics) pro-capitalist perspective. The second and opposed approach, stemming from a critical, Marxist-inspired perspective, has taken the form, first, of **dependency theory**, and then of a more state-focused Marxist approach. More recently, the dominant, although by no means unchallenged, paradigm has been **globalization theory**, to some degree incorporating elements of both developmentalist and dependency perspectives. Globalization theory, however, has also served to problematize politics in the developing world as a coherent field, partly because it tends to undermine the premise of a distinct developing world. For this and other reasons, some have suggested that the field is currently in crisis. The latter part of this chapter considers how far a distinctive and coherent approach to politics in the developing world is still discernible in the present day, and also asks whether such an approach would be desirable.

'Politics' and the 'Developing World'

Before considering the three main approaches themselves, we need briefly to revisit the central notions of 'developing world' and 'politics'. As noted in the introduction to this part, the term 'developing world' has conventionally referred to the predominantly post-colonial regions of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East, perceived to be poorer, less economically advanced, and less 'modern' than the developed world. 'Developing world' is preferred to 'Third World', because the latter term carries some particular historical connotations that make it especially problematic.

But even when we use the less problematic 'developing world', there have always been questions about what exactly are the defining features that these countries have in common and which distinguish them from the 'developed world'. These questions have become yet more pressing as the differences within the 'developing world' have widened: does it make sense to discuss the World Bank's 'lower-income countries' or the United Nations' 'least developed countries' (LDCs) alongside 'upper middle-income countries' or the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa)? Still more basically, some seek to question the assumptions underlying the notion of 'development': from what to what are such countries supposed to be developing, and from whose perspective?

Similarly, 'politics' is a highly contested notion. On one understanding, it is a kind of activity associated with the process of government and linked with the 'public' sphere; on another, it is about 'power' relations and struggles not necessarily confined to the process of government or restricted to the public domain. This volume takes the view that neither perspective on its own is sufficient—in general, but particularly in a developing world context. A further important question concerns the **autonomy of politics**: how far is politics, as a level or sphere of social life, determined by economic and/or social/cultural dimensions of society, and how far does it independently impact on those dimensions? Is the autonomy of politics itself variable? The different approaches to be considered all address this question, more or less explicitly, but arrive at very different conclusions.

KEY POINTS

- The expression 'developing world' is preferable to 'Third World', but the increasing diversity of the countries included still makes generalization problematic.

- Studying politics in developing countries means investigating both central government processes and power relations in society.
- A further important question concerns the relative autonomy of politics.

Modernization and Dependency Approaches

Most studies of politics in developing countries have been informed to some degree by one or other of three main dominant approaches: modernization theory; Marxism-inspired theory; and globalization theory. These approaches, or theoretical frameworks, themselves have not necessarily been directly or centrally concerned with politics; however, both modernization theory and dependency theory have helped at least to generate more specifically political approaches.

The politics of modernization

The emergence of the 'politics of modernization' approach reflected both changing international political circumstances and developments generally within social science, and specifically within political science. Out of the Second World War, a new world was born, in which, first, two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—confronted one another, and second, a process of decolonization was set in train, leaving a succession of constitutionally independent states. Soon, the two powers were vying for influence in these states. Within the United States, social scientists—and increasingly political scientists—were encouraged to study them.

For this, the field of comparative politics at that time was ill-equipped; it concentrated on a narrow range of Western countries, was typically historical and legalistic in orientation, and was not systematically comparative at all. Responding to this new challenge, comparative politics drew on two developments in the social sciences: first, the 'behavioural revolution' encouraged a more 'scientific' approach that sought to build general social theories and test them empirically; second, especially in sociology, but also in economics, interest was growing in tracing and modelling processes of 'modernization'. Whilst modernization theory took different forms, its underlying assumption was that the process of modernization experienced in the West provided a valuable guide to what to expect in the developing world.

Political development theory

In this context, interest grew in elaborating a specific concept and theory of political development. The framework of analysis developed by Gabriel Almond was particularly influential. He developed a structural-functional approach to comparing politics in different countries and as a basis for his concept of political development, which distinguished a series of political functions and then examined their relationship with particular structures or **institutions** (see Box 1.1). There were four 'input' functions: political socialization (instilling attitudes towards the political system); political recruitment; and the 'articulation' and 'aggregation' of interests (demands). On the 'output' side, three functions were identified: rule-making; rule implementation; rule adjudication; and a more pervasive function of political communication.

Almond originally suggested that political development could be understood as the process through which these functions were increasingly associated with specialized structures—parties for interest aggregation, legislatures for rule-making, and so on—and with the emergence of modern styles of politics (achievement-based versus ascriptive, and so forth). Later, he identified five political system 'capabilities' (extractive, regulative, distributive, symbolic, and responsive), which were expected to grow as structures became more specialized and political styles more modern. These capabilities in turn would help the system to deal with four main problems (to which some writers later referred as 'crises')—of state-building (with the focus on state structures), **nation-building** (focusing on cultural integration), participation, and distribution.

Almond's approach has been extensively and justly criticized, although it must be said that political scientists continue to use many of the concepts he developed, such as state-building (see Chapter 12) and nation-building. Similar criticisms were made of other attempts to conceptualize political development, with the added observation that they were excessively diverse, demonstrating a lack of consensus on what political development actually was (Pye 1966).

Political development theory, in this form, was in decline by the late 1960s, not least because supporting

BOX 1.1 ALMOND'S FRAMEWORK FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Political systems

Input functions (*and typical associated structures*)	Output functions (*and typical associated structures*)
Political socialization (*family, schools, religious bodies, parties etc.*)	Rule-making (*legislatures*)
Political recruitment (*parties*)	Rule implementation (*bureaucracies*)
Interest articulation (*interest groups*)	Rule adjudication (*judicial system*)
Interest aggregation (*parties*)	

↓ Political communication ↑

Political systems develop *five capabilities*:

- extractive (drawing material and human resources from an environment);
- regulative (exercising control over individual and group behaviour);
- distributive (allocation of different kinds of 'good' to social groups);
- symbolic (flow of effective symbols, for example flags, statues, ceremony); and
- responsive (responsiveness of inputs to outputs).

These help them to face *four kinds of problem*:

- state-building (need to build structures to penetrate society);
- nation-building (need to build culture of loyalty and commitment);
- participation (pressure from groups to participate in decision-making); and
- distribution (pressure for redistribution or welfare).

Source: Almond and Bingham Powell (1966)

funding was drying up. But it has not entirely disappeared; indeed, many of its characteristic themes resurfaced in the literature emerging from the 1980s concerning democratization and **governance** (see Chapters 14 and 15). Before leaving political development theory, though, two further developments should be noted.

Modernization revisionism

One strand of criticism of political development theory—**modernization revisionism**—centred on its oversimplified notions of tradition, modernity, and their interrelationship. Taking up arguments voiced by social anthropologists against modernization theory, some political scientists questioned what they perceived as an assumption that political modernization would eliminate 'traditional' elements of politics such as **caste** and ethnicity (the topic of religion was largely ignored until the 1980s—see Chapter 8). Instead, they suggested that aspects of political modernization could positively invigorate these traditional elements, albeit in a changed form, and also that these elements would invariably influence in some measure the form and pace of political change.

This perspective also drew attention to the ubiquity and role of **patron–client relationships**. In their 'traditional' form, local notables, typically landowners, acted as patrons to their dependent clients, typically peasants, in relationships that were personalized, clearly unequal, but framed in terms of reciprocity and affection. With greater 'modernization', and extension of state and market into the 'periphery', a modified kind of relationship emerged between peasant/clients and local 'brokers' who could mediate their dealings with the centre. But at the centre, emerging, seemingly modern, political institutions—political parties and bureaucracies—also often operated on the basis of informal, but powerful, patron–client relationships, which moreover often linked into those at the periphery. Where such relationships pervaded government, scholars drew on sociologist Max Weber's typology of forms of rule (Weber 1970), to talk about **patrimonialism**, or **neo-patrimonialism**. This insight into the realities of **patronage** and **clientelism** was extremely valuable, and has continuing relevance (see Box 1.2; see also Chapters 6 and 10). Indeed, with the more recent emphasis on the role of political institutions, discussed further later in this chapter and in Chapter 3, there has been renewed interest in these relationships, as part of the wider question of the relationship between formal and informal processes within institutions. Despite further criticisms that have been made of modernization revisionism in its turn, this perspective has greatly enhanced our understanding of political processes in the developing world.

BOX 1.2 PATRON–CLIENT RELATIONS

An anthropological account of a traditional patron–client relationship between landlord and sharecropper:

A peasant might approach the landlord to ask a favour, perhaps a loan of money or help in some trouble with the law, or the landlord might offer his aid knowing of a problem. If the favour were granted or accepted, further favours were likely to be asked or offered at some later time. The peasant would reciprocate—at a time and in a context different from that of the acceptance of the favour in order to de-emphasize the material self-interest of the reciprocative action—by bringing the landlord especially choice offerings from the farm produce or by sending some members of the peasant family to perform services in the landlord's home, or refraining from cheating the landlord, or merely by speaking well of him in public and professing devotion to him.

(Silverman 1977: 296)

Patron–client relationships in Mexican party politics:

Given PRI [Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party] monopolization of public office, for much of the post-revolutionary period the most important actors in the competition for elected and appointed positions have been political *camarillas* within the ruling elite. *Camarillas* are vertical groupings of patron–client relationships, linked at the top of the pyramid to the incumbent president. These networks are assembled by individual politicians and bureaucrats over a long period of time and reflect the alliance-building skill and family connections of the patron at the apex.

(Craig and Cornelius 1995: 259–60)

Politics of order

Samuel Huntington (1971) launched a scathing attack on political development theory for its unrealistic optimism, suggesting that, rather than political development, it might be more relevant to talk about political decay. He criticized an assumption in political development theory that, in developing societies, economic growth would lead to social change conducive to liberal democracy. Instead, he argued that rapid economic growth from low initial levels could be profoundly destabilizing, generating excessive pressures on fragile political institutions. In this context, what mattered was not what form of government existed (whether democratic or communist), but the degree of government.

Critics accused this 'strong government', or **politics of order**, perspective of inherent conservatism and authoritarianism. But, at the time, Huntington's thesis also injected a welcome dose of **realism** into the discussion, as well as drew attention to the ability of political institutions not only to reflect economic and social development, but also themselves to make an active difference—that is, to the 'relative autonomy of the political'.

Huntington's ideas continue to influence our understanding of developing countries. Thus the theme of the importance of institutions re-emerged in the 1990s with the emphasis of institutions such as the World Bank on 'governance' (as explored further in Chapter 3). His arguments about the relative timing of, and relationship between, democracy and development pinpointed what has remained a key debating point. For instance some experts have questioned the appropriateness of democratic governance for economic development in low-income countries, as in much of Africa, with the strong government perspective echoed by exponents of the 'developmentalist state' and even the China-based **Beijing consensus**, defined by Kurlantzik (2014) as entailing 'repressive politics and high-speed economic growth'. And, recently, Fukuyama (2011, 2014), with an explicit debt to Huntington, has revisited and sought to update, in two substantial volumes, the whole question of the origins and strength of political institutions.

Marxist-inspired approaches

The second main category of approaches to be examined stems from a broadly Marxist perspective. As such, it opposed the 'politics of modernization' school as reflecting bourgeois or capitalist interests, and stressed the determining role of processes of economic production and/or exchange and the social class relationships embedded in them. In fact, dependency theory, which emerged in the late 1960s, was primarily concerned to refute orthodox models

of economic development and also modernization theory; its implications for politics, at least in the narrower governmental sense, were almost incidental, although its impact was considerable.

One main reason was that it drew attention to a serious shortcoming of all forms of political development theory: their near-total neglect of the international context and the implied assumption that politics in developing countries were shaped by purely domestic forces. Dependency theory originated in South America and reflected that continent's experience, but was quickly applied to other parts of the developing world. It has taken numerous forms, but will be briefly illustrated here through the arguments of a leading exponent, Gunder Frank (see also Chapter 5).

Frank (1969) maintained that the developing world had been increasingly incorporated into the capitalist world economy from the sixteenth century onwards. In fact, development of the developed world (known as the 'metropolis', or 'core') was premised upon **underdevelopment** of the developing world (known as 'satellite economies', or the 'periphery'); development and underdevelopment were two sides of the same coin. Despite formal political independence, former colonies remained essentially dependent because the metropolis was able to extract most of their economic surplus through various forms of monopoly. Even when such economies appeared to be developing, this was only dependent and distorted development. Frank argued that the only way in which a satellite economy could end this dependence was to drastically reduce ties with the metropolis; later, he recognized that even this was not really an option.

Whilst, for a time, dependency theory was extremely influential, it was also increasingly and justly criticized for the crude generalization and determinism of its economic analysis. Not all versions were quite as deterministic as Frank's. Wallerstein (1979), for instance, recognized a 'semi-periphery' of countries, such as the East Asian 'tigers', which, over time, had been able to improve their position within the overall 'world system' and, by their example, offered others on the periphery the hope of doing so too. By the 1980s, dependency theory was losing currency, although, ironically, the emerging 'debt crisis' of that same decade and imposition of structural adjustment requirements has seemed one of its best illustrations.

What did dependency theory have to say about politics in developing countries? Frank tended to minimize the independent effects of politics. He argued that both the state and the national political elite in such countries were identified with the *comprador* economic class, which served as the local agent of metropolitan capital and consequently had a vested interest in the status quo. The only real possibility of change would be a revolution of those at the end of the chain of **exploitation**—the peasantry and urban poor—who had nothing to lose. Short of that, the different forms of politics, contests between political parties, and so forth, had little significance. Again, there were some variations in this position. Wallerstein had more to say about politics and a less reductionist view of the state, but still ultimately saw strong states as a feature of the developed world and reinforcing capitalist interests. In general, dependency theory shed little direct light on the political process as such within developing countries. Its real contributions were to insist on the intimate link between politics and economics, which had been largely neglected in the politics of modernization literature, and to demonstrate that the domestic politics of developing countries was incomprehensible without reference to their position within the world capitalist system.

Neo-Marxism rediscovers politics

Despite its Marxist associations, dependency theory had many neo-Marxist critics. They rejected its economic analysis, which, they argued, was based on falsely equating capitalism with the market, rather than seeing it as a system of production. They also cherished hopes that the socialist revolution that had failed to materialize in the West would begin in the developing world. Such hopes were raised by a 'third wave' of revolutionary developments from the late 1960s (following a first wave centred on China, and a second wave from the late 1950s including Cuba and Algeria), which included Communist victories in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, revolution in Ethiopia, the overthrow of Portuguese **regimes** in Africa, and revolution in Nicaragua (Cammack 1997). For these reasons, neo-Marxists engaged in a much more detailed and rigorous analysis of social structure that was, in some sense, aimed at assessing the eligibility of different social categories—peasants, the lumpenproletariat (the urban poor who were not regular wage-earners), and so on—to inherit the role of revolutionary vanguard originally attributed to the industrial working class.

At the same time, there was a new interest in what Marxists typically referred to as the **post-colonial state**. Marx himself generally depicted the state as

a simple instrument of class domination—in the famous words of the *Communist Manifesto* (1872, in Marx and Engels 2002): 'The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.' But his writings sometimes alluded to a second possibility, as in France during the second empire under Louis Napoléon, when the weakness or divisions of the bourgeoisie allowed an authoritarian state to emerge that was 'relatively autonomous' from any particular social class. This notion, as developed by neo-Marxists such as Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) and, later, Nicos Poulantzas (1936–79) analysing capitalist states in the West, was later seized on to explore the relationship between the state and social classes in post-colonial societies. Hamza Alavi (1979), for instance, argued (with particular reference to Pakistan) that the post-colonial state enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. This was, first, because it had to mediate between no fewer than three ruling classes, but second, because it had inherited a colonial state apparatus that was 'overdeveloped' in relation to society because its original role was holding down a subject people (although others later questioned whether the post-colonial state in Africa could be described as overdeveloped).

KEY POINTS

- The 'politics of modernization' approach emerged in the 1950s, initially taking the form of political development theory.
- Political development theory was criticized by 'revisionists' for simplifying and underestimating the role of tradition, and by advocates of political order for excessive optimism.
- From the left, dependency theory criticized the modernization approach for ignoring former colonies' continuing economic, and thus political, dependence.
- Neo-Marxists criticized dependency theory's determinism, and explored the relative autonomy of politics and the state.

Globalization: Theories and Responses

By the early 1980s, and despite their diametrically opposed starting points, the lines of thought evolving out of early political development theory, on the one hand, and dependency theory, on the other, were converging around a re-appreciation of the independent importance of 'the political', and an interest in strong government and/or the state. But both of these lines of thought were also tending to run out of steam. Modernization-based approaches were particularly vulnerable to the charge of insufficient attention to the economic and international context. In the meantime, dependency theory was increasingly challenged by apparently successful cases such as the oil-producing Gulf states and the **newly industrializing countries** (**NICs**), whilst the neo-Marxist focus on socialist revolution appeared increasingly anachronistic.

Reflecting these changes in the global environment, by the 1990s, a new 'macro' approach was emerging, globalization theory, which tended both to absorb and displace the previous two. (For a valuable early overview, see McGrew 1992.) Globalization theory focuses on a process of accelerated communication and economic integration that transcends national boundaries, and increasingly incorporates all parts of the world into a single social system. Globalization theory (see also Chapters 4 and 12) should more properly be referred to as 'globalization theor*ies*', since it has taken many different forms. As with the previous two approaches, it can also often seem closer to an ideology or policy strategy than a theoretical framework. Although the process of **globalization** is often seen as originating in the distant past, there is general agreement that it accelerated in particular from the 1970s, spurred by developments in transport and communications, and subsequently by the collapse of the Soviet bloc and end of the cold war.

Probably the most important dimension of this process—certainly the most analysed—is economic, with particular attention paid to developments in global trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), and finance (see Chapter 4). Associated with these economic trends, however, has been a significant cultural dimension of globalization that is increasing cultural awareness and interaction across national boundaries. Central to this process has been the remarkable development and expansion of information technology and the new electronic mass media, enormously extending the scope and immediacy of communication. The consequences of this process are undoubtedly complex and contentious. For globalization pessimists such as Sklair (1991: 41), the predominance of US-based media conglomerates has meant the diffusion of images and lifestyles that promote the 'culture-ideology of consumerism'. Powerful media industries have emerged in a number of

developing countries such as India, Brazil, and Mexico. Thai soap operas are popular in China, Turkish soap operas in Saudi Arabia, and even Mexican telenovelas in Zambia! This has led commentators such as Pieterse (2015) to suggest that, especially with China's growing influence, we are witnessing the emergence of more genuinely 'hybrid' cultures. Yet it is questionable just how truly 'global', in the sense of multidirectional, cultural communications have become. By the same token, however, the perceived threat of cultural globalization has prompted complex counter-trends, including reassertion of local and national cultural identities (on religious identity, see Chapter 8).

Different forms of globalization theory have emphasized different aspects—economic, cultural, and so on. They differ in what they understand to be the prime moving mechanism of the globalization process: some see it as driven by the underlying logic of unfolding capitalism associated in particular with an aggressive **neoliberalism**, relentlessly expanding global markets—for instance in labour and capital—at the expense of national state institutions and boundaries; others, as primarily a consequence of developments in communications; others, as a combination of factors. Some accounts, echoing modernization theory, are essentially optimistic: they stress, for instance, the extent to which a globalizing economy, in which capital is increasingly mobile, hugely extends opportunities for investment and employment for those who are enterprising and adaptable. Others, echoing the mistrust and many of the arguments of dependency theory, have been more pessimistic; they have depicted an increasingly unfettered global capitalism, ruthlessly exploiting people and resources. Globalization theory has taken stronger forms—sometimes referred to as 'hyperglobalization'—and more cautious, moderate forms. The debate too has changed over time: Jones (2010: 12), in his overview of key globalization thinkers, traces an evolving dialogue involving emphatic statements, sceptical reactions, more cautious reformulations, and so forth, although he suggests that there is a growing consensus that 'globalization does amount to something "new" '.

Finally, globalization theory creates difficulties for the notion of a distinct developing world. Even if we talk about a 'developing world' rather than a 'Third World' and are careful about which countries we include or exclude, this still implies a distinct geographic entity. However, globalization theorists such as Berger have argued that if we want to retain the idea of a Third or developing world, this should be conceived of in sociological, rather than geographic, terms. The ongoing process of economic globalization means that economically based social classes are increasingly transnational or global in span. Thus dominant classes in the developing world are more oriented towards Western capitalist centres, where 'they have their bank accounts, maintain business links, own homes and send their children to school', than to their own countries (Berger 1994: 268). Meanwhile, countries in the developed world, not least the United States, each have their own underclass (or 'Third' or developing world), even if there are few signs that such underclasses are coming together at a global level.

Responses: 'Anti-globalization' and alternative critical perspectives

Whereas it was possible to see modernization theory and dependency approaches as, to some degree, internally coherent and radically opposed to one another, in the case of globalization theory, it ranges so widely that it tends to have encompassed key debates, including those derived from modernization and dependency outlooks, within its own parameters. So we have seen that globalization pessimists have emphasized 'negative' traits, including US cultural dominance, and growing global inequality. In this context, the 'anti-globalization movement', sometimes also referred to as the **global justice movement** (see Chapter 11), emerging from the late 1980s, has identified globalization largely in terms of the global spread of neoliberal ideology and corporate power. It has comprised a hugely heterogenous and changing network of groups, many based in the developing world, and of causes, such as environmentalism, the rights of the landless, fair trade, and ending exploitation of child labour.

Partly associated with this anti-globalization activism have been more sophisticated critiques of aspects of what is seen as mainstream thinking. Besides those directly engaging with the economic assumptions of globalization optimists, there have been those criticizing globalization ideology from a **gender** perspective (see Chapter 9). Alternatively, there have been attempts to 'deconstruct' implicit elements of globalization thinking. One such critique is associated with the notion of **orientalism**. In his influential book, first published in 1978, Edward Said wrote about the lens of 'orientalism' through which many Western scholars

BOX 1.3 THE DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRY IN LESOTHO

Lesotho is a small, landlocked country in southern Africa, with a population of around 1.3 million. Ferguson (1997) lists seventy-two international agencies, **non-governmental organizations (NGOs)** and quasi-governmental organizations operating in Lesotho, and notes that, in 1979, it received some US$64 million in **official development assistance (ODA)**.

> What is this massive internationalist intervention, aimed at a country that surely does not appear to be of especially great economic or strategic importance? . . . Again and again development projects in Lesotho are launched, and again and again they fail: but no matter how many times this happens there always seems to be someone ready to try again with yet another project. In the pages that follow, I will try to show . . . how outcomes that at first appear as mere 'side-effects' of an unsuccessful attempt to engineer an economic transformation become legible in another perspective as unintended yet instrumental elements in a resultant constellation that has the effect of expanding the exercise of a particular sort of state power while simultaneously exerting a powerful depoliticizing effect.
>
> (Ferguson 1997: 7–21 *passim*)

have interpreted Asian and Middle Eastern societies in imperial times. This discourse, which tended to 'essentialize' such societies, rendering them as exotic and 'Other', could also be seen as instrumental to the political aims of the imperialist powers (although it was not confined to them, as demonstrated in Marx's account of the 'Asiatic' mode of production). Said's work is said to have inspired a broader movement of 'post-colonial studies'. Specifically, in India, it stimulated the emergence of 'subaltern studies', the original rationale of which was to rewrite India's colonial history from the standpoint of the oppressed, subaltern classes. (For a fuller discussion of these developments, see Chapter 2.) Although Said was primarily writing from a historical and cultural viewpoint, he subsequently argued that orientalist discourse was being revived in the post-cold-war context, and especially after 9/11, to help to justify US policy in the Middle East. Similarly Bayat (2015) invokes a 'neo-orientalism' evident in the current era of globalization, in which Muslims and Islam in particular are depicted as imminently threatening to Western values and security.

Another critique with great relevance to this volume is directed at the assumptions of development theory and the development 'industry', and referred to as 'post-development theory'. This entails a criticism of development as discourse. One influential exponent, who explicitly situates himself within the parameters of discourse theory, is Arturo Escobar (1995). Escobar, who incidentally acknowledges a debt to Said, suggests that whatever kind of development is advocated, whether capitalist or 'alternative', there is still the assumption that developing countries have to be made to change, which helps to rationalize continuing intervention of outside interests, experts, and perspectives. Ferguson (1997) provides a good illustration, writing about external intervention in Lesotho, and drawing a contrast between the repeated 'failure' of development projects and the significance of their apparently unintentional political side-effects (see Box 1.3). It must be stressed that this line of argument has generated much counter-criticism, not least that 'development' is not only an elite preoccupation, but also an almost universal aspiration.

Globalization and politics

Although the voluminous literature on globalization, certainly to begin with, had relatively little directly to say about politics in the developing world, its implications are far-reaching. First, it suggests changes in the character of politics as a whole. While it would be premature to talk about a process of political globalization comparable with what has been claimed in the economic and cultural spheres, one can point towards a series of developments that incline that way. There is the increasing perceived urgency of a range of issues—such as global warming, refugee flows, **terrorism**—the origins of, and solutions to, which transcend national borders. Correspondingly, we have seen a proliferation of international regulatory organizations and governance regimes, such as the **international human rights regime**, discussed in Chapter 18, of NGOs, and of transnational **social movements**, including the so-called anti-globalization movement itself (see Chapters 10 and 11).

At the same time, globalization theory has emphasized ways in which the nation-state is losing autonomy. It is increasingly difficult for the individual state to control the flow of information across its borders or to protect its people from global security threats.

Likewise, globalizing trends have greatly reduced its economic options, for instance its ability to fend off the consequences of economic upheaval elsewhere, such as the 1997 East Asian financial crisis, or to successfully promote 'Keynesian' economic policies, to enhance welfare and protect employment, when these run counter to the logic of the global economy. With reduced autonomy, it is argued, comes reduction in the state's perceived competence and, accordingly, in its **legitimacy**. It comes under increasing pressure from within, as well as without, contributing to a process of 'hollowing out' the state. This increased vulnerability of the nation-state has particular relevance for poorer countries of the developing world. Clapham (2002: 785) suggests that, in such countries, 'the logic of incorporation into the modern global system . . . has undermined the state's coercive capabilities, weakened its legitimacy and subverted its capacity to manage the inevitable engagement with the global economy'.

Having said that, in recent years, there have been increasingly audible revisionist voices where the state's importance is concerned. Observers have, first, debated the significance of the 'new regionalism' evident from the 1980s, which Gamble and Payne (1996: 2) defined as 'a state-led or states-led project designed to recognize a particular regional space along defined economic and political lines'. By 2007, there were 380 regional trade associations notified to the World Trade Organization (WTO), including such South–South associations as the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) in South America, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). The question was whether these were to be seen as stepping stones en route to global economic integration or as stumbling blocks and a form of resistance.

Second, critics of the globalization hypothesis have long argued that it greatly overstates the threat posed to the nation-state, pointing out, for example, that many states, including the East Asian NICs, have actively promoted and benefited from the process of economic globalization, and suggesting that states may be able to invoke or harness **nationalist** reaction to globalizing pressures as an alternative source of legitimacy, as in India. More recently, such debates have paid more systematic attention to the experience of developing countries. Mosley (2005) found that, in a number of the more developed countries in South America and where there was the political will, the state was better placed to resist these global pressures. Following the 1997 financial crisis and during the most recent global financial crisis (2007–08), it has been noted that a number of emerging economies—notably, China and India, but also others, such as Malaysia and Indonesia—had retained sufficient protective regulation to withstand the worst economic consequences.

With renewed acknowledgement of the independent agency of the nation-state has come re-appreciation of the role of the state itself, for instance in development and security. If neoliberalism, with which globalization theory has been closely associated, tended to advocate a reduced role for the state in favour of the market, by the end of the 1990s there were already signs of reappraisal. The World Bank's 1997 report, *The State in a Changing World*, and the emerging so-called **post-Washington consensus** recognized the importance of an effective state to complement and support the activities of markets (Stiglitz 1998). In South America, many commentators have pointed to a 'return of the state' over the last decade, associated with a succession of left-leaning governments, as in Bolivia and Ecuador (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012). So, as with modernization and dependency perspectives, over time, globalization approaches have been modified by increased awareness of the role and efficacy of the (nation-)state.

KEY POINTS

- Globalization theory, drawing on both modernization and dependency theory, emphasizes increasing global economic integration. It also implicitly calls into question the existence of a distinct developing world.
- Critical responses to globalization as neoliberal ideology have been associated with the 'anti-globalization movement', and have included arguments about orientalism and 'post-development' theory.
- Early globalization theory suggested the declining importance of the (nation-)state, although, more recently, revisionist arguments have qualified this position.

Current Approaches

A state of 'disarray'?

Both modernization-based approaches and Marxist-inspired approaches were found increasingly wanting by the 1980s. Although globalization theory

incorporates significant elements of both, it too tends to undermine the rationale for studying politics in the developing world as a distinct field. Moreover, globalization theory reflects changes in the real world, including increasing differentiation amongst countries of the 'developing world', which pose further problems for meaningful generalization.

These developments within the field have coincided with a wider disillusionment with attempts at grand theory-building in the social sciences. One general school of thinking, originating in linguistics and philosophy, which contributed to and helped to articulate such misgivings, has been **post-structuralism**. The approach adopted by post-structuralists, discussed further later in this chapter, questioned the epistemological basis and claims of all of the great theoretical approaches, or 'meta-narratives', such as liberalism, Marxism, or indeed 'modernization'.

There has also been a steady growth of information about politics in different developing countries since the first attempts at generalization in the 1950s. Western governments—above all, the US government—have funded research and teaching, some of it under the rubric of 'area studies'. Professional associations of area specialists, conferences, and journals have proliferated. At the same time, political science expertise—concerning both the country in question and politics in developing countries more broadly—is expanding in a growing number of developing countries: not only in India, where authors such as Rajni Kothari have been challenging received thinking over many decades, but also, for instance, in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Admittedly, such indigenous authors often gravitate towards the relative comfort and security of American universities; Africa, for instance, has its own 'academic diaspora'. The ranks of these indigenous authors are swelling all the time, but include, for example: Guillermo O'Donnell, from Argentina, who devised the influential concept of **delegative democracy** (see Chapter 14); Arturo Escobar, from Colombia, associated (as we have seen) with the notion of 'post-development'; Doh Chull Shin, from South Korea, who has written on democracy, with special reference to that country's experience (see Chapter 24); and Claude Ake, from Nigeria (who died in 1996).

All of this has heightened awareness of the complexity and diversity of politics across this great tranche of the world's countries. Surveying all of these developments, one might well conclude that politics in the developing world no longer even has pretensions to being a coherent field of study; rather, as Manor (1991: 1) had already suggested more than twenty years ago, it is 'in disarray'.

Themes and agendas

If this remains to some extent true, the globalization background provides one element of commonality, whilst in the foreground one can also discern three, partly overlapping, themes or research issues that have tended to predominate and shape lines of more recent comparative inquiry, supplemented, or even challenged, in the last few years by a fourth.

The first is democratization (see Chapter 14). When the **third wave of democracy** broke in the mid-1970s, spreading through South America in the 1980s and much of tropical Africa in the 1990s, it served to confound the expectations of a generation of political scientists who had come to see political authoritarianism or decay as an intrinsic political feature of the developing world. The global reach of democratization extended not only as a consequence of pressures within developing countries, or of the collapse of the Soviet bloc and end of the cold war, but also through more deliberate interventions of Western governments and intergovernmental organizations. As Chapter 14 describes, these included attaching political conditions to forms of economic assistance, but also more direct international **democracy promotion** through financial and other forms of support to democracy projects. Linked to this drive, Western government and research foundation funding helped to generate a huge literature apparently covering every aspect of democratic transition, including analysis of the effectiveness of international **democracy assistance**.

Already in the 1990s, Diamond (1996) was asking whether democracy's third wave was over; increasingly, in the new millennium, the literature has come to focus on the limitations and failures of the democratizing process, and the survival or revival of authoritarianism in democratic guise. The arrival of the so-called Arab Spring in 2011 (see Chapters 11 and 14) encouraged a new surge of 'demo-optimism', with speculation that this could even herald a 'fourth wave'. Five years on, at time of writing, however, the brutal sequel in, for instance, Libya and Syria has largely put paid to such expectations (Masoud 2015).

The second theme is the relationship between politics and economic development or growth. An

influential strand of thinking now sees **good governance**, and even democracy, as a prerequisite of economic growth. This represents an inversion of the early political development literature in which economic growth was generally assumed to be a condition of democracy (Leftwich 1993). We have already noted a reassessment of the importance of the state by bodies such as the World Bank, which opened its 1997 report, *The State in a Changing World*, by declaring that the state is central to economic and social development, not so much as a direct provider of growth, but rather as a partner, catalyst, and facilitator. The 2007–08 global financial crisis has reinforced this interest as observers debate which kinds of political arrangement have been associated with the most resilient economies. It has also led to an interest in the economic role played by **civil society** organizations (CSOs) and **social capital**. This theme, again, lacks a fully elaborated theoretical context, but owes something to the strong government variant of the politics of modernization. But again, like the democratization theme, it is clearly partly driven by concerns of Western governments and intergovernmental organizations.

A third prominent theme concerns peace, stability, and security versus conflict and risk (see Chapter 13). Again, this overlaps with the two previous themes: domestic conflict inhibits the emergence of political conditions conducive to economic growth, for instance, whilst many champions of democratization believe that democratic values and institutions provide the best guarantee both of domestic and of international security and order. The growing focus on causes and consequences of conflict and instability within developing countries is also, however, a result of the perception that such conflict has been on the increase since the end of the cold war. An additional impetus has been the perceived need to combat international terrorism, heightened in the wake of 9/11. In this context, there has been particular interest, on the one hand, in the pathology of 'failing' and 'failed', or collapsed, states, and on the other, in the 'politics of identity', especially ethnic and religious identity, in developing countries (see Chapters 7 and 8). Building on this theme, the most recent trend has been in analysis of the record and challenges of state-building in post-conflict societies (see Chapter 13).

These three themes do not amount to, or derive from, one coherent analytic framework, although they echo and incorporate elements of the earlier dominant paradigms, as well as globalization ideas. But they do overlap in the sense that democratization, economic performance, and the presence or absence of internal conflict either do, or are seen to, significantly affect one another. These themes also clearly relate to observable trends in the developing world, but also reflect the concerns, interests, and research-funding priorities of international agencies, Western governments, and, to a lesser extent, NGOs (see Chapter 10).

A fourth emerging theme, however, also requires mention: the implications of China's growing ascendancy. India is sometimes coupled with China in this context, but its rise is seen in more provisional and future terms. This China theme does not dovetail so neatly with the other three, although it is regularly discussed in relation to them. Increasingly, in the new century and especially since the global financial crisis, China has come to be seen as a key global player, not only as one of the five designated BRICS countries, but also potentially part of a G2 with the United States or even a global hegemon. Its rise has compounded the conceptual difficulties of defining and demarcating a developing world. China likes to present itself as a Third World or developing country (see Chapter 29), but some see in its relationship with other developing countries an element of North–South imperialism rather than South–South solidarity. The complexity of its internal relations also tend to undermine the North–South distinction; rather, China contains its own 'north' and 'south' (Eckl and Weber 2007).

Perhaps the most debated aspect of China's rise concerns the economic implications. By 2015, with a population of nearly 1.4 billion, it had become the world's second largest economy, largest exporter, and second largest importer of goods (see the discussion in Chapter 4). We have seen that this has raised big questions about China's impact on the (modified) neoliberal agenda associated with globalization and how far China offers an alternative development model, sometimes referred to as the 'Beijing Consensus' (Ramo 2004; Kurlantzik 2014); along with this growing economic influence, observers have anticipated more directly political effects. Questions have been asked about not only the prospects for democracy within China, but also the implications of China's rise for relatively fragile new democracies in East Asia (Kraft 2006; Diamond 2012). There have been concerns about the apparent lack of **conditionality** attached to Chinese foreign aid in Africa, which could undermine the good governance agenda of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD's) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors (Tan-Mullins et al. 2010).